

SURARA
PAKIDAI

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his maloka.

• [482] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

[481] Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

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285 Over a stalk of the paxiúba palm (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.) 60-100 ubim leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the paxiúba stem, while the long stem of the ubim leaf projects beyond it. Each ubim leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long ubim stem is bent, wrapped around the paxiúba stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the paxiúba stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a pano (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these panos /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

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Surara
Pakidai

/22 cont./

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[482] In the forest the Surara and Pakidai as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

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114 In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean release" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for

100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarf, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

Suráa
Pakidai

/24 cont./

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Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiríana, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

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made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

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they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

[174]

tween the poles or clubs of the Waiká and the sticks of the Suráa and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

[521]

The bamboo quivers -- rôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

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The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

Surára
Pakidái

411 /24 cont. /

182 lance-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way
184 are also found among the Waiká, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

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4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or cursuá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borórohfk -- which consists of a lance-shaped hearth -- panáibequehfk -- and two drilling sticks --

182 shirupehfk (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the
184 wild cacao tree -- poróroá -- exactly as among the Waiká (117).

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the
114 Xirianá (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of

411 the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about
quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find
elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical
combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

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119. That it is well-known among the Xamatári, however, is proved by two objects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum

Surara
Pakidai

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

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a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nliamaaxf -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surara and Pakidai tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidai, Poréhiwō, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly.

Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surara and Pakidai the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

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Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

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137. (cont.)

(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

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I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

/46 cont./

Suratg
Pekidei
Shiriana
Waica

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Fig. 18a-b

Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
[513] of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xirifana are more highly developed, for they have a web of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

/49 cont. /

8. Basketry

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[824] Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of curauf, the making of which falls to the men.

[824] If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the patauf, acai, and ubim palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called pakokêhe, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the maloka. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

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191 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the

269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens,

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaírf /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff.
and Figs. 13 and 14.

examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

Surara
Pakidfi
Schiriana

/49 cont./

000 which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34). This description comes from Koch-Grünberg, and, to be sure, he is referring to the completely identical women's carrying-baskets of the Xirifna (Schiriana). "In this type of plaiting," says the investigator named, "which is probably peculiar to the Schiriana, the vertical strips running out radially from the common center of the bottom are wound spirally with two finer horizontal strips. A few stronger inner rings to which /50/ the vertical strips are lashed with lianas give the basket shape and support. The ends of the vertical strips are secured under a special overcasting of the rim (Pl. 23, 1). By means of tree-bark strips, to which the bark still adheres, the basket is carried by the forehead on the back" (277). The same technique is used by the

277. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 307/08.

Surara and Pakidfi, and the initial plaiting of a carrying-basket (Fig. 21) shows this particularly clearly (Ill. 35). This is /Fig. 21 appears here/ /51/ the type of plaiting which Max Schmidt designates as "double-thread plaiting," the second principal type of South American plaiting (278) (279).

278. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

279. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

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482 By means of an external feature one can, however, easily distinguish the women's carrying-baskets of the Xirifna from those of the Surara and Pakidfi. In the case of the former, the carrying band is fastened only at the edge (280), while the latter

280. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Pl. 23, 1.

always wind it around the bottom, then lead it through two twisted liana-loops on the lower third as well as on the upper edge, and then knot it on one side (Ill. 34). This gives the wearers a better

Surara
Pakidai
Xiriana

/51 cont./

hold, which makes it possible for them to transport substantially heavier loads without chafing themselves. This slight improve-

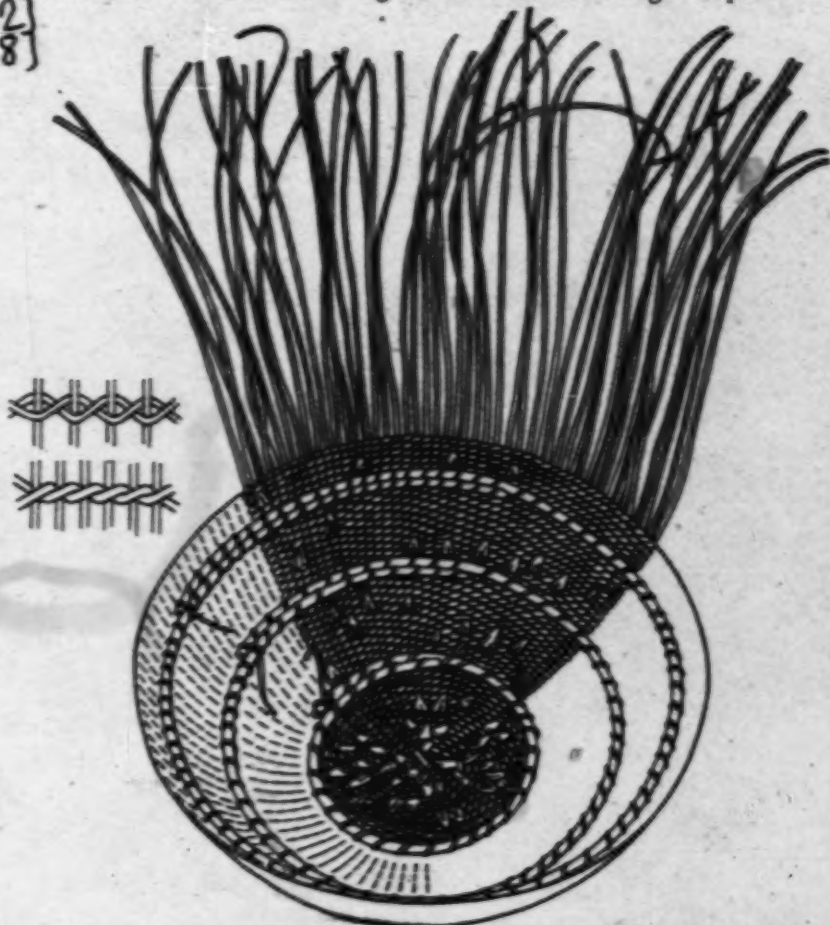


Fig. 21. Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket.

ment could have been developed by the Surara and Pakidai women, but the baskets themselves, as well as the method of making them, according to the statements of my informants, represent imported goods from the Xiriana.

The same applies for the round, flat basket-bowls made by the same technique, which are found in various sizes among the Xiriana (281) as well as among the Surara and Pakidai and

/60 cont./

622 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time,
159 like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male
Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal
traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to oc-
casional communal projects, supervises their activity in the roças
(forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka,
and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic per-
[224] formances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example,
he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every
family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the
hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women
bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes
[554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way.
He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some
of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and chil-
dren occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of
622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again.
484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection,
159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours
484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with
them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in
order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe,
which travels in single-file formation, always presented the
following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4
484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their
482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder.
After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of
the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him,
my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little
baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets,
which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies
carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips.
On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a
parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors
as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidáí

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always
[482] be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women
484 carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened,
622 they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief
554 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in
the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the
supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected,
of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he
is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is
able to make connections with the hekurá and serrás /sierras/ (see pp.
200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were
killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his
successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of
Hewemão is Kurikayawō. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who
is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his
youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá,
who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest
brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take
over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomírawō, a modest, re-
served, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidáí the succession of chiefs is the same.
624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that
619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief
Karakarawō, because his three younger brothers who could have
taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawō did have
a son, Karenauō, but he was still very young, so that there was
nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time
being to the war chief Poréhiwō as a substitute. At the same time
he and the older Pakidáí men asked the chief of the friendly Surára,
Hewemão, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses,
magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidáí at-
tended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present
Pakidáí chief, Karenauō, who was given a very thorough training
by Hewemão. For this reason the Surára and Pakidáí even lived

/206 cont. /

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they
262 do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries,
[237] or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house.

• [482] They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but
[766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebató told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to
[784] kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which
262 they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the
223 eagle (21).

21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77).
(Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing
825 a specimen of a species of animal which was previously a person.
262 He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

AT HOME WITH THE SAMATARI

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either. 123*
[263]

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back. 257
[482] •

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clinging a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray. 123*
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We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uarema and the Guryca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracosa and part of the Uraricoera, and before reaching 123*

/467 cont. /

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.

[24] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in

• [482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the

[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own plantains. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijigao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

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7: Barker--62 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

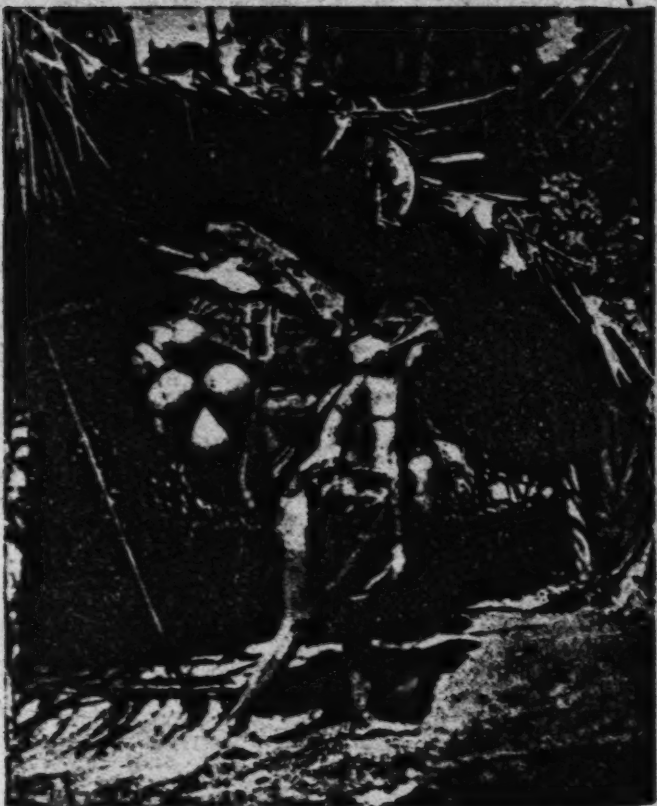
Plate II

Waica



A Guaika woman carrying her child by means of a band or strap of bark, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

482



The women carry great weights hanging from the head and shoulders. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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● 482
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302
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TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived.
(Photograph by J. Grelher)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows.
(Photograph by J. Grelher)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (Photograph by J. Grelher)

[n.64-B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wa'ca

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237



The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors.
(Photograph by J. Grelier)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (Photograph by J. Grelier)

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[p. 112-D]

Esmeralda to the Guaharibo Rapids

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Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-
place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for
more than a week. And so we found on our various return
visits. The inhabitants were always different and their num-
bers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how
frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said
he had been to only one other during his seven months'
stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and
baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw
or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops
of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the
hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara
teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them
dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing
embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number
of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not
discover what they were used to carry—probably household
utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no
Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with
no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging
from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that
I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of
unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from
many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like
a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair
and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator
which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave
them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of
tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their
lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As
with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every
morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before
passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any
sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the



Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to bear her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

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